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THE TRAVELING DOCTORS OF THE ANDES: THE CALLAHUAYAS OF BOLIVIA¹

By G. M. WRIGLEY

Anywhere between Bogotá and Buenos Aires you may meet these strange exponents of the healing art; among the thronging crowds at the great fairs and the pleasure seekers of the fiestas; in the hut of the mountain shepherd and with the gaucho of the plains. Traveling first class on a southbound steamship from Guayaquil or tramping on foot the desolate road of the Chilean desert the Callahuaya is equally at home.² All the secrets of the Cordillera are his, the hidden springs, the best natural shelters—for he scorns the protection of a roof, the shortest cuts. His peculiar disregard of the trodden way is expressed in a popular Aymará phrase, *lagui tuppu*, the road of the Indian, or "as the crow flies."³ With the Callahuaya the attire proclaims the man: it is quite distinct from that of Quechua or Aymará in its combination of black breeches, red or red-and-white poncho elaborately patterned, bright scarf round the waist and broad-brimmed sombrero of vicuña wool or finest Guayaquil straw. On the breast is worn the huge cross of virgin silver, distinctive mark of the calling. Adorned maybe with false green gems, it and the crude silver finger rings are of recent Argentine fabrication, contrary to their appearance of antiquity. On the other hand the *Kapacha*, or *Chuzpa* as it is termed if smaller, is of native workmanship. This is the wallet that, slung across the shoulder, carries the stock in trade. It is exquisitely made but from our fastidious point of view is spoiled by the invariable layer of dirt and grease. The contents alone betray their vendor, and often from a distance, for they include aromatic gums, resins, barks, and herbs from the hot forests.⁴ But these simples do not constitute the entire outfit. The esoteric art of the Callahuaya extends beyond mere drugs. A necromancer, he carries with him charms to meet the emergencies

¹ The most important material consulted for this article is an unpublished manuscript of the late Adolph F. Bandelier kindly put at the disposal of the Society by Mrs. Fanny Ritter Bandelier. It is a matter of great regret that Mr. Bandelier was unable to complete his promised report on the Callahuayas (see "The Islands of Titicaca and Koati," footnote 123, p. 155), for he is the only scientist who has made any real study of these little-known Indians.

² According to Bandelier there are authenticated cases of the Callahuaya traveling to Rome, and it is asserted with some show of probability that they have gone as far as the Holy Land. Vicuña Mackenna reports ("El libro de la Plata," Santiago, 1882) that among the very few travelers on the desert roads of the mining zone before the greatest silver discoveries were "solitary caravans of the Indian physicians of Carabaya, who, walking a thousand leagues in a year, visit our cities of the Maule and the Biobio."

³ Mrs. M. G. Mulhall: Between the Andes and the Amazon, London, 1881, pp. 115, 116. Memoirs of General [William] Miller, Vol. 2, p. 239, London, 1829.

⁴ Carlos Bravo: Clasificación de las Plantas Medicinales usadas en la Farmacopea Callahuaya, La Paz, 1889. According to Bandelier this contains errors, and the names of plants are given in Aymará and not in Callahuaya but it is valuable in that the list incorporates plants used, not by the Callahuaya alone but by the inhabitants of Bolivia in general, as household remedies.

A list of items in the Callahuaya pharmacopeia is given by C. B. Cisneros: Geografía Comercial de la América del Sur, Lima, 1897, p. 115.

of every-day affairs in the Andes. There are little carved stone figures representing llamas, sheep, or cattle. Manipulated with appropriate ritual they will ensure prosperity among the flocks. Several of these objects were seen by Boman in the Diaguite region where they are known as *illa*.⁵ With red wool also used in the pastoral ceremonial they had been purchased from Callahuayas. Similar forms have been discussed by Uhle, who saw them on sale in the plaza of Sicuani and learned their use from an Indian.⁶ He describes little figures of sheep having holes on the back exactly like those of ancient forms. According to his Indian informant the holes were filled with alcohol, coca, and the like sacred substances, and the sacrifice, for such it is, was buried in the pastures. With them the Indian pays Pachamama, the Earth, for the boon of the pasture. The figure is placed in the ground between stones and covered with a stone. Each time the annual sacrifice is renewed the new offering is placed under the old, that is, in closest proximity with Pachamama.

A variety of charms cover the needs of agriculture. Prosperity in general, in popular demand of course, is secured by a common form, the clenched hand frequently engraved on the inside with a circle representing a piece of money. Most of the *mullu*, or "stones of Charasani," as they are commonly called, are of the white alabaster abundant in Charasani, but some, especially among the human figurines sold in secret, are black—for the working of evil.⁷ Among educated people the Callahuaya does not enjoy an altogether admirable reputation, and he is usually reticent when questioned by whites, though even here his astuteness does not fail him. What cynical philosopher has bettered his retort when asked for the secret of woman's love? "It is to have money." His dealings with the natives are typified in an incident witnessed by Bandelier: "On the road from Huata to Achacachi some Callahuayas stopped a party of Indian freighters. They took one of them aside and told him he was sick. The Indian denied it but they finally convinced him that he had a headache. Thereupon the Callahuayas sold him about 40 cents (gold) of ordinary snuff, charging him as much again for the cure. He was relieved indeed of his supposed headache and also of a good part of his hard-earned cash!" Another trick of our charlatan, practiced also by the Aymará medicine man,⁸ is related by Ascarrunz.⁹ In the course of his travels the Callahuaya prosecutes inquiries for Indians who are ill. If any such is discovered he commences operations. At night he buries a toad or some like repugnant creature

⁵ Éric Boman: *Antiquités de la région Andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama*, 2 vols., Paris, 1908; reference in Vol. 1, p. 132. See also Vol. 2, pp. 496, 511.

⁶ Max Uhle, *Revista Historica*, Vol. 1, p. 389, Lima.

⁷ Bandelier describes the Callahuaya fetishes ("The Islands of Titicaca and Koati," pp. 105, 106). He found it exceedingly difficult to obtain information on the practice of the "black" art and impossible to secure specimens of the fetishes used.

⁸ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁹ Adolfo Ascarrunz: *Los Callahuayas*. App. II to Rigoberto Parades: *Monografía de la Provincia de Mufiecas*, *Bol. Soc. Geogr. de La Paz*, Vol. 1, 1898, No. 2, pp. 42-51.

near the house of the victim and, presenting himself the succeeding morning as a casual visitor, is solicited to perform a cure. After a duly decorous period of opportunity on the part of his dupes he consents and proceeds

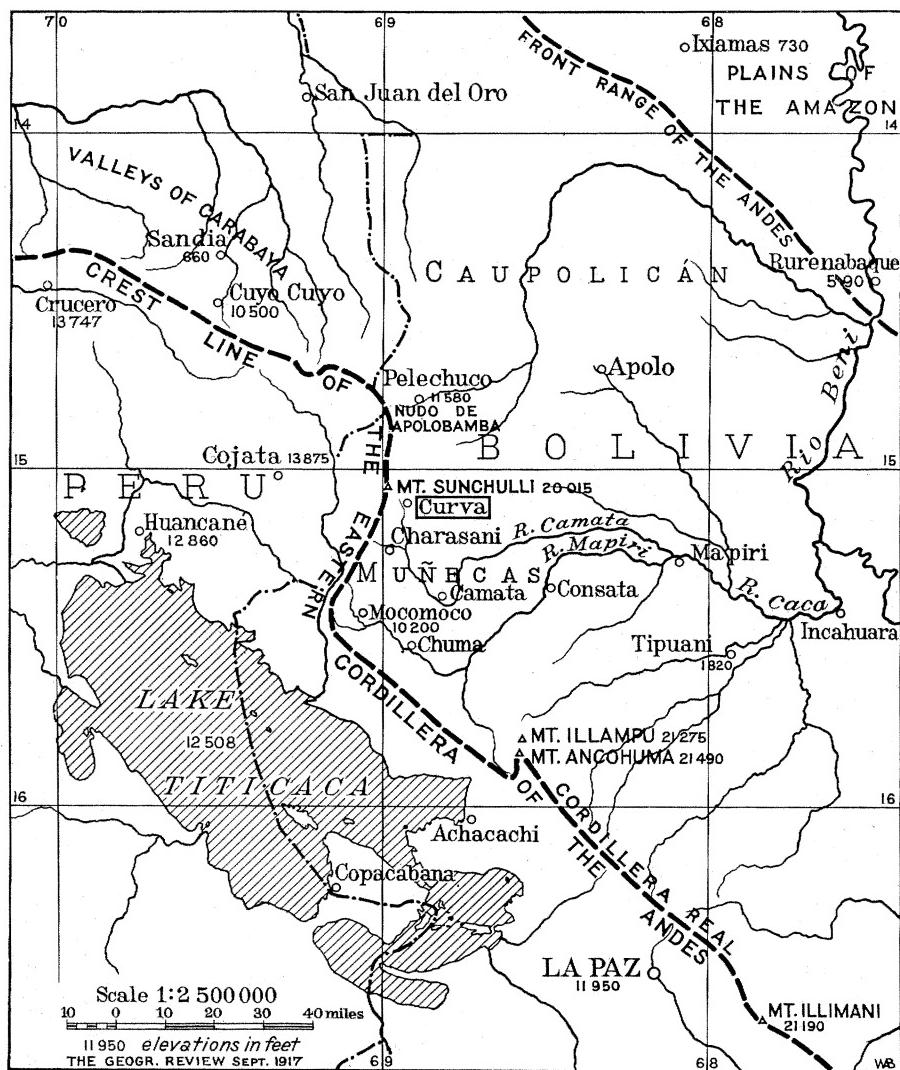


FIG. 1—Map showing location of Curva.

to make a divination, using coca leaves for the purpose in much the same way as a gypsy "throws" the cards. The divination concludes with the unearthing of the toad, whereupon the patient improves and the Callahuaya receives his fee and departs.

One traveler in the Central Andes has summarized the wide range of the

Callahuaya's activities thus:¹⁰ "The *taita* (priest) is venerated as the dispenser of the heavenly blessings, but he is far from enjoying the authority of the Collahuaya [sic], the native oracle. He is newsvendor, peddler, doctor, diviner. He plays a political rôle, announcing the coming of an Inca liberator of the oppressed race¹¹ . . . in a native village he is arbiter of quarrels and lawsuits, teller of fortunes, purveyor of love-potions, minstrel, story-teller, merchant, veterinary surgeon, receiver of confidences." Even if this portrait is somewhat overdrawn, it is an undoubted fact that the Callahuaya has the entire confidence of the native and not a little of the respect of the more ignorant white.

Whence comes he, this strange exploiter of his fellows? The names by which his tribe is known in various parts of the continent give approximate ideas of his home. "Chirihuana,"¹² as he is called on the Peruvian coast, places him beyond the Eastern Cordillera, though too far south;¹³ "Yungeño," as he figures on the pampas of Buenos Aires, is nearer, for it suggests the eastern valleys of the department of La Paz. The "Colla"¹⁴ or "Coya" adopted in northern Argentina connects him with the Titicaca basin. Actually he comes from the border between these two great regional divisions, the *altiplano* and the eastern valleys. Charasani, Consata, Curva, and other villages of the provinces of Muñecas and Larecaja, department of La Paz, have been stated as specific habitations. Modesto Basadre,¹⁵ who gives a short but pertinent account of the tribe, refers only to Curva, and Bandelier emphatically states it to be the sole residence of the Callahuayas.

Among the towns of Muñecas, Curva occupies a unique position. This may be realized by a glance at the topographic and climatic divisions of the province. The range is great; most of the varied regions of Bolivia are here represented. From a narrow strip of the high tableland on the southwest rises the snowy Cordillera of the Eastern Andes. Its summits in Muñecas reach heights of 19,000 feet and more;¹⁶ they are imposing though not quite as superb as the line of "royal peaks" of the true Cordillera Real, carved out of the granite axis of the Cordillera from Illampu to Illimani. The limit of perpetual snow is about 16,000 feet; below, to elevations of 12,000 or 11,000 feet, is *puna* country, whose human importance is confined almost solely to the pastures, except where mineral wealth has proved an attraction. On the graded mature slopes on the southwestern border of the Cordillera is one of the most famous pastoral districts of the

¹⁰ Baron Meyendorff: *L'Empire du Soleil: Pérou et Bolivie*, Paris, 1909.

¹¹ Andrews ("Travels in South America," London, 1827) conceived this idea also. There is no authority for it, yet in view of the maintenance of the old Peruvian traditions and customs it is quite conceivable. A species of play representing the "Death of the Inca" is still performed.

¹² William Bollaert: *Antiquarian, Ethnological and Other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile*, London, 1860, p. 250.

¹³ Vicente Pazos: *Letters on the United Provinces of South America*, 1819, p. 79.

¹⁴ Ludwig Brackebusch: *Viaje à la Provincia de Jujuy*, Buenos Aires, 1883 (?), p. 26.

¹⁵ "Riquezas Peruanas escrito para 'La Tribune,'" Lima, 1884.

¹⁶ The height of Sunchulli is given as 20,015 feet (*Censo Nacional de 1900*).

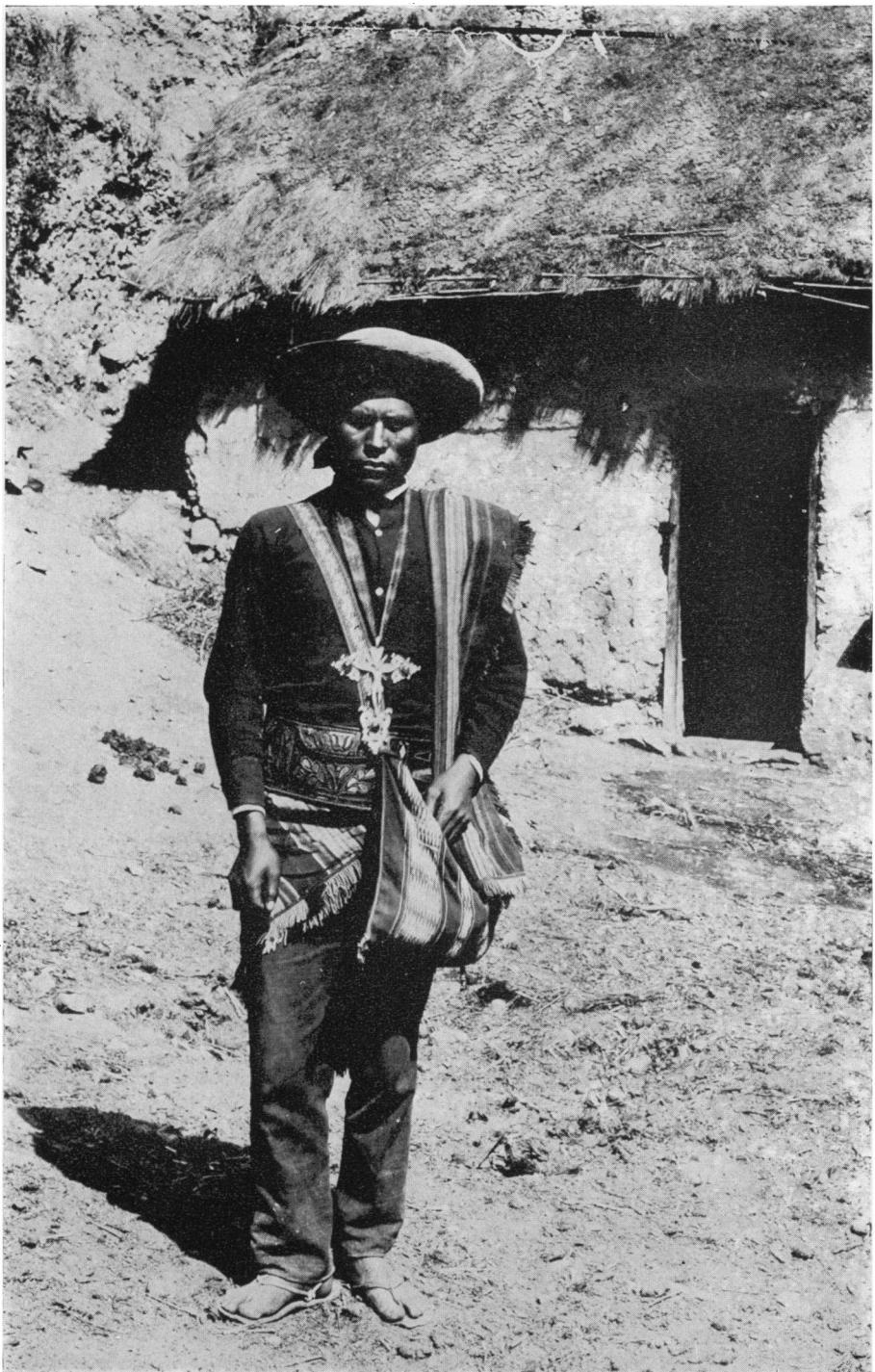


FIG. 2—The Callahuaya: the Traveling Doctor of the Andes. The woven bag (see Fig. 6) and the large silver cross are distinctive of his calling.

Andes. The high, cold pastures of the region around the meeting point of the Bolivian provinces of Muñecas and Caupolicán and the Peruvian province of Carabaya, that is around the knot of Apolobamba, afford optimum conditions for alpaca raising. The wool has long been an important export from the region, a circumstance that stimulated the growth of this section when the boundary dispute was settled by the rectification treaty of 1909. A larger area in Muñecas is occupied by the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. Here, under the heavy rains of the trades, dissection has proceeded far; deep-cut ravines penetrate into the heart of the Cordillera. Profiles are ungraded; rapid descents give great climatic changes within short distances. In the altitudinal and climatic zone designated *cabecera de valle* (head of the valley), about 10,000 feet, maize and wheat cultivation is dominant. Farther down, in *medio valle*, about 8,000 feet, subtropical fruits are at their best and coffee begins to be cultivated, while still farther below, in *los valles*, commence the *yungas*, 5,000-6,000 feet, with coca plantations set in the midst of the extraordinarily rich and varied tropical vegetation of the lower *montaña*.

The relationship between the people and the resources of these zones of the Eastern Cordillera is identical over a large area extending north and south of Muñecas. One of the best descriptions of it is found in Markham's "Travels in Peru and India." Written over fifty years ago it applies perfectly to the region today, and for purposes of comparison it will be advantageous to recall here the statements in regard to distribution. They relate particularly to Carabaya, the Peruvian border province contiguous with Muñecas and Caupolicán.

The ultimate wealth of Carabaya, "the golden," lies in the produce of the hot valleys—the cacao, coffee, coca, and rubber—as well as the deposits of metallic gold that bestowed the epithet upon the province. But the present inhabitants reside almost entirely in villages in the upper parts of the valleys in the *cabecera de valle* or the higher part of the *medio valle*, that is particularly in the maize and wheat zone more or less accessible to the pasture lands of the spur tops—many of these upper valley dwellers owning in addition coca patches in the lower reaches. The villages so situated, of which Cuyo-cuyo, 10,500 feet in elevation, is a good example, have practically no intercourse with one another: each little community is shut off from its neighbors by the wild Andine spurs, or precipitous valley walls. Communication indeed is only possible by pursuing the valley road to the head, crossing the Cordillera onto the plateau, and thence recrossing by the pass proper to the valley sought. From this circumstance has arisen the fact that Crucero, on the plateau and remote from the geographical center of population, has been created capital of the province. Its central location in regard to the passes and trans-Cordilleran routes compensates for its bleak *puna* climate and barren resources.

The geographical relationships for the country south of Muñecas have

been discussed by Evans in his "Expedition to Caupolicán Bolivia,"¹⁷ and his journey down the famous Tipuani valley may well be compared with that of Weddell.¹⁸

In Muñecas¹⁹ the centers of population are in the upper valleys; as Parades expresses it, "each one in the *quebrada* proper to it." It is noteworthy that Muñecas (old province) is one of the five most densely populated provinces of Bolivia, its density at the 1900 census being 30 per square mile (11.36 per sq. km.). Its nine urban centers account for 7,373 people, something over one-fifth of the total population. Of them eight are in the valleys. Mocomoco, with 1,477 people, is in the maize zone at 10,200 feet: Charasani, 787 people, and Italaque, 785 people, are also in the *cabecera de valle*; Chuma is reported to possess a "sauve and serene" climate, the best of the province; it has a population of 1,419. Ayata, a great producer of maize, numbers 1,216 urban population. It includes some of the largest, most valuable and most productive *fincas* of the province: its rural population is 4,524. Camata, on the border of the *yungas*, is hot and its population, 277, is the lowest. Of the nine cantons only Curva is on the *puna*.

The situation of Curva is described by Bandelier as peculiar and picturesque. "It lies at a considerable altitude on a bleak saddle at the base of the imposing Nevada de Accamani. On two sides the slopes go down to appalling depths, narrow and full of precipices with the exception of one only which leads from Charasani to Pelechuco." The town, clustered round the small, wretchedly kept plaza, has the usual dismal aspect of a *puna* settlement. Of its total population of 323 only 10 are white, the remainder being Callahuayas. Why do they reside here? What are the advantages of the *puna* location?

Pelechuco, with an altitude above the average and "occupying a sombre, mist-filled valley," is the outlet for the greater part of the trade of Caupolicán Bolivia. Crucero, the bleak capital of Caravaya, is likewise a commercial center. Curva has no commercial movement of this sort. A limited agriculture, potatoes and barley, is practicable, but it is subordinated to the care of the flocks. Gold washing is carried on in a desultory way at the foot of Sunchulli, but the prosperity of Curva, whose inhabitants are the richest of the province, is not dependent on these industries. They are chiefly the work of the women; the men, the wealth-gainers, are employed in the curious itinerant profession that has made them famous throughout

¹⁷ *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 22, 1903, pp. 601-646.

¹⁸ H. A. Weddell: *Voyage dans le nord de la Bolivie*, Paris, 1853.

¹⁹ By a law of 1908 the Bolivian government created a new province, Camacho, from portions of Muñecas and Omasuyos. Apparently the new province includes a part of the eastern slope of the Cordillera as well as the western slope in Muñecas and its continuation in Omasuyos to the shore of Lake Titicaca. It comprehends the old cantons of Mocomoco, Italaque, and Ambaná, formerly belonging to Muñecas. As the distribution of population within them is not unlike that of other districts of the province, the old political division has here been considered for distributional purposes. See *Bol. Direcc. Gen. de Estadística y Estudios Geogr.*, No. 89, La Paz, 1914, pp. 218, 219.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIG. 3—Curva occupies the notch in the crest of the spur on the right. In the background are the snows of the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes; the foreground slopes are terraced barley and potato fields.

FIG. 4—Curva lies in the notch at the top of the mountain in the center of photograph. It is not surprising that the natives of this wild and isolated region make their long journeys with so little regard of the trodden road and the ordinary conveniences of the traveler.

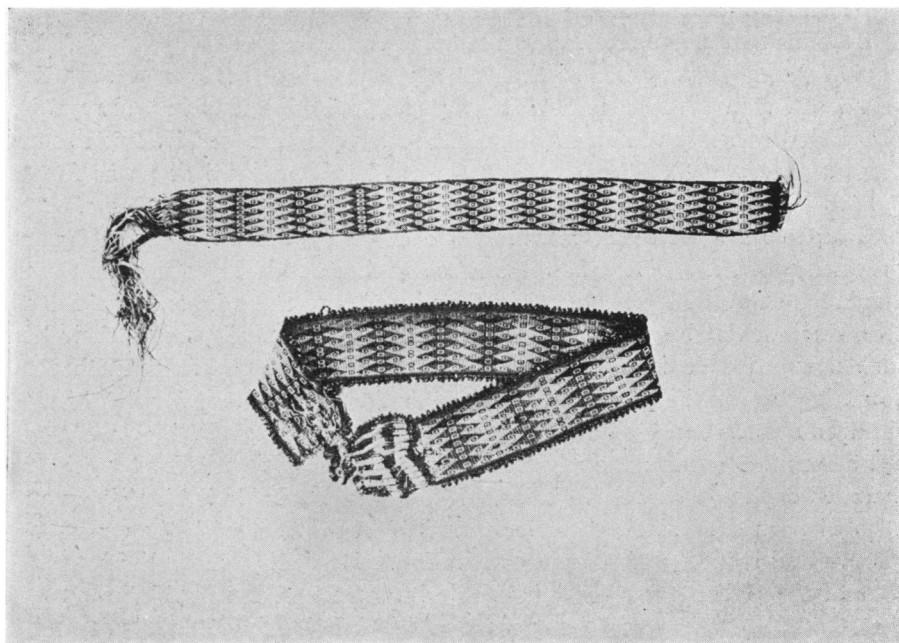


FIG. 5.

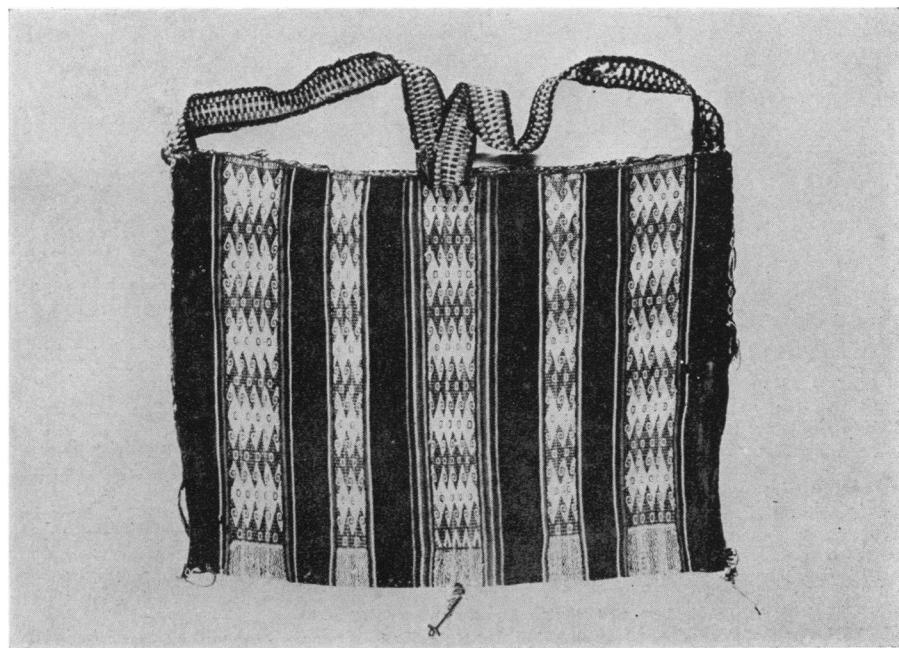


FIG. 6.

FIG. 5—Callahuaya head bands. The unfinished band shows the loose threads which will be worked into the tassels worn dangling over the ear.

FIG. 6—The beautifully woven bag in which are carried the drugs and charms that constitute the stock-in-trade of the Callahuaya.

the continent. It has already been described from the outside: it may now be examined in closer relation to the home environment.

The journeys vary in length from a year to three or four or even five years. They are never undertaken by single individuals but always by companies, at times of as many as eight or ten persons. The women sometimes accompany their husbands on the road to Charasani or go as far as that to meet them on their return; otherwise they remain at home. According to Parades, strict measures are taken by the husbands to ensure the fidelity of their wives, though others say that on his departure the Callahuaya hands over his wife to a friend and on his return adopts any children born during his absence.²⁰ Under the peculiar circumstances of their life such a moral code is not improbable; it would be comparable with that obtaining among the people of the Puna de Atacama, where her illegitimate children are the accepted *dot* of the bride.²¹ On his travels the Callahuaya has a reputation for unusual sobriety, though he is reported to engage in drunken orgies on his return home. Likewise remarkable is his "lively and open disposition," as one traveler puts it,²² in contrast with the customary reserve and stolidity of the plateau Indian. Regarding the religious practices of the Callahuayas there is conflicting evidence, but Bandelier asserts that they always have a solemn mass said before leaving on their journeys and they promise rich gifts for the church in the event of their safe return. Such promises are faithfully kept, and Bandelier himself saw handsome church vestments which had been brought home by them. The journey is prefaced by a trip to the *montaña* for outfitting the wallets. As this trip takes them into the hot country they wear little clothing for it, a circumstance which has led some travelers to suppose the forest their actual home.²³

The returning Callahuaya brings with him money, horses, mules, and an infinite variety of merchandise, much of which is sold in the adjacent hamlets of Inga, Chajaya, and Kanglaya. These small villages appear to be veritable emporiums. Bandelier was told that anything might be purchased there, from a tasteful bonnet and elegant shoes to a sewing machine and a harmonium!

Such is practically the extent of our knowledge of the life and customs of this strange little human group. How can its peculiarities be explained? Whence originated this form of nomadism? The Callahuaya has been called the "gypsy of the red race";²⁴ but the term is not really appropriate, for he

²⁰ Hugo Reck: *Geographie und Statistik der Republik Bolivia*, *Petermanns Mitt.*, 1865, pp. 257-261, 281-295, 1866, pp. 299-305, 373-381, and 1867, pp. 243-251, 317-329; reference on p. 377 (vol. for 1866). Reck also refers to the Callahuaya's custom of taming mules they bring from Argentina by stopping the beasts' ears with wool.

²¹ Isaiah Bowman: *Results of an Expedition to the Central Andes*, *Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. 46, 1914, p. 172.

²² S. S. Hill: *Travels in Peru and Mexico*, London, 1860, Vol. 2, p. 12.

²³ J. J. von Tschudi makes a statement to this effect. He describes their use of the juice of the *huito* as a protection against insect stings. See his "Travels in Peru During the Years 1838-1842," New York, 1849.

²⁴ The Callahuaya has also been compared to the "early traveling physicians of Greece." Professor Walter Woodburn Hyde, however, is of the opinion that there never were "traveling physicians," either in early times or late, and that the notion arose from a mistaken rendering of the word "peripatetic."

has a fixed habitation. Rather does the movement at first sight suggest a feature characteristic of mountains wherein the mountaineer makes periodic excursions to the lower country to supplement the scant resources of his native land, as for example the annual excursions of the Italian glaziers of the Piedmont to pursue their calling in itinerant fashion along the roads of France.²⁵ For such a movement there is a very distinct economic justification, but it is unusual in the Andes, where the Indian is remarkably "fixed." The shepherd may cover an immense area in the pasturing of his flocks, but he is none the less bound to his stone hut and potato patch; the agriculturist may, as in the valleys of Carabaya, possess lands in the hot valley a considerable distance from his home, but he has no tendency to move farther afield. In some instances, and oftener now than formerly, the Indian will voluntarily seek service in the *haciendas* of the white cultivators or even in the mines, but this is not general. This long-established fixity of the Indian is a fact of deep significance. On that foundation was built the ancient Andean civilization. Under the given physical circumstances it is difficult to conceive of so highly perfected an agricultural régime being achieved by any other means.²⁶

The elaborate schemes of terracing and irrigation in the steep-walled valleys involved great and constant labor and concerted and directed action. Government was naturally some form of autocracy; individual liberty was necessarily sacrificed to the common good, as is clearly shown by the laws of the Incas. Any man who tried to change his apportioned work in the province to which he was native "committed a very great crime against the Inca, against his nation, and against his native province; and so he was condemned by all and punished with severity."²⁷ No man could change his residence without license, and the *mitimaes*, the involuntary colonists, who were the individuals most likely to disobey this rule, were most severely punished for any attempt to leave the land of their exile. In the pastoral industry also a rigorous régime was enforced. Careful demarcation of the pasture grounds as well as antiquity of domestication is revealed in the remarkable diversity of color among the native flocks. In accord with this social system the work of subordinate occupations was also apportioned; "different provinces of the country furnished persons peculiarly suited to different employments, which . . . usually descended from father to son."²⁸ Higher in the social scale the "professions," science, war, administration, fell into the same scheme. It is in this traditional character of industry under the Inca Empire that we may find the clue to that of the Callahuaya.

Some idea of the status of ancient Peruvian medicine may be gathered from the pages of the early chronicles. In them, so far as is known, the

²⁵ Reclus suggests this in regard to the Callahuayas, in "L'Homme et la terre," Vol. 1, p. 71. 1905.

²⁶ The fundamental place of agriculture in the old Peruvian civilization has been emphasized by nearly all writers on the theme. For one of the latest expositions see "Staircase Farms of the Ancients," by O. F. Cook, *Natl. Geogr. Mag.*, Vol. 29, 1916, pp. 474-534.

²⁷ P. B. Cobo: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Vol. 3, Seville, 1892, p. 240.

²⁸ W. H. Prescott: *The Conquest of Peru*, 2 vols., New York, 1847; reference in Vol. 1, p. 55.

Callahuayas are not referred to by name, but there are various references to exponents of the medical art in general. Acosta says that in the times of the "Kings Incas of Cusco" there were persons "expert in the curing of diseases with simples"; and they had knowledge of the many "virtues and properties of herbs, roots, woods, and plants."²⁹ Garcilaso also states that herbalists were famous in the times of the Incas ("they knew the use of many herbs and taught their knowledge to their children"), and further quotes a dictum of the wise Inca Pachacuteec from the chronicles of Father Blas Valera: "The physician herbalist that is ignorant of the virtues of herbs, or who, knowing the use of some, has not attained a knowledge of all, understands little or nothing. He ought to work until he knows all, as well the useful as the injurious plants, in order to deserve the name he pretends to."³⁰ Cobo says the natives had very little medical knowledge: they were most expert in the healing of wounds by use of "extraordinary herbs of very great virtue." In their cures sorcery and witchcraft invariably played a part.³¹

The relation of the Callahuaya to the other tribes of the Empire remains to be shown. According to Bandelier he is a Quechua-speaking Indian, and the peculiar unstudied language, also spoken by the Callahuaya of today, is probably no more than a dialect with an added jargon of words appropriate to his mysterious calling. It is used only by the Callahuayas among themselves; outsiders are not supposed to hear it. At Pelechuco Bandelier learned the first ten numerals of the so-called Callahuaya language. They are: *mayti* (one), *payti* (two), *iriti* (three), *yumqui* (four), *taquili* (five), *tacsu* (six), *chianan* (seven), *richaj* (eight), *chipana* (nine), *kolke* (ten). The numbers one and two are clearly derived from the Aymará *maya* and *paya*.

Among the Callahuayas local tradition has it that they were transported as *mitimae*s from the village of Carabaya (or Callavaya or Collahuaya as the name commonly appears in the earlier spelling).³² According to Garcilaso de la Vega the Inca Sinchi Roca conquered as far as the river called Collahuaya, and under Ccapac Yupanqui the kingdom stretched to Callahuaya, 40 leagues from Cuzco. Certain it is that the Incas made conquests into the coca- and gold-producing lands of the *montaña*.

Here the precise location of Curva becomes significant. It is at the head of one of the Camata valleys, and Camata was one of the gateways into the *montaña*. Today the remains of an Inca road can be traced along the valley far down toward the Amazonian plains. At Incahuara on the Rio Caca, to

²⁹ Joseph de Acosta: *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, Vol. 1, *Hakluyt Soc. Publs.*, 1st Ser., No. 60, 1880; reference in Bk 4, Ch. 29.

³⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega: *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, Vol. 1, *Hakluyt Soc. Publs.*, 1st Ser., No. 41, 1869, Bk. 2, Ch. 24; *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 1st Ser., No. 45, 1871, Bk. 6, Ch. 36.

³¹ P. B. Cobo, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, Ch. 10.

³² Adolfo Ascarrunz (*op. cit.*, p. 42) derives the folk-name Callahuaya from two Aymará words—*calla*, a carrying, and *guayu*, a bundle of clothing, referring to the bundles they carry in their knapsacks. The place connection, however, makes this seem unnecessary.

which the Camata is tributary and which itself unites with the Beni, there are sun and moon carvings on the rocks. Early in colonial times there were four recognized routes for the penetration of a vast stretch of *montaña*. These were (1) by Opatari and the Andes of Tono in latitude 13°; (2) by San Juan del Oro, down one of the valleys of Caravaya; (3) by Camata; and (4) by Cochabamba, latitude 17° 30'. These four entrances are repeatedly mentioned in the documents relating to Juan Alvarez Maldonado, one of the first Spaniards definitely to undertake the conquest of this portion of the *montaña*. His rival, Gomez Tordoya, selecting the route through Camata to forestall the authorized "conqueror," was pursued by the law as far as Charasani. The Jesuit missionaries also made early entry to the "Chunchos" via Camata. Camata and Pelechuco are described as frontiers of the civilized Christian Indians against the savage Chunchos. Camata town itself was long on the actual frontier. Its ancient houses were built of stone and constructed in a manner suitable for defence to resist invasions of the town by the Lecos of the Mapiri.³³ Now it is this old-debated territory of the *montaña* that furnishes the valuable medicinal plants.³⁴ A people situated near the border country with relatively easy access to sources of supply would naturally be selected to act as purveyors of the medicinal plants of the *montaña*. The ancient origin of the profession of the Callahuayas of Curva is at least plausible.

The event of the Spanish conquest would motive no change in a group so small and comparatively remote. Though it broke down the elaborate social fabric, it left the great body of Indians fundamentally unchanged in attitude. Furthermore the Spaniards of the early colonial days were a superstitious people of a superstitious age, and scientific knowledge was scant among them. In 1637 the proposal to found chairs of medicine in the University of Lima was opposed on the ground that "in this kingdom there are many medicinal herbs, for a great variety of diseases and hurts with which the Indians are better acquainted than the physicians . . . ; many persons, when given over by the faculty, set out for Cercado and Surco [near Lima] to be cured by Indian men and women." Even in the nineteenth century General Miller wrote: "In all the provinces of the department of Puno not one regular medical man is known to exist. The aboriginal tribe of Callahuayas or Yungeños are the only practitioners throughout a great part of South America."³⁵ It is in the light of a survival that the Callahuaya has the greatest claim on our interest today. He reminds us of the strength of the old geographical controls that rule in the Central Andes. He is entirely in harmony with the unchanged life of the highland shepherd,

³³ Rigoberto Parades, *op. cit.* in footnote 9.

³⁴ To the Indian inhabitants is commonly attributed an extensive empirical knowledge of their properties. Wierner speaks of the Piros of the Urubamba valley who annually ascend to Hillipani to exchange woven goods, pottery, live birds, and certain medicinal plants of which these "Chunchos" have more knowledge than the Quechua Indian.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* in footnote 3.

still offering his sacrifices to Pachamama and indifferently mingling prayers to the saints with prayers to the Earth-Mother.³⁶ He is in sympathy with an agriculture whose products are almost wholly for local consumption, as is the case with all but the largest *haciendas* of the eastern valleys, the major basins of the plateau, and the accessible coast valleys.³⁷ He is a part of that system of exchange still carried on largely by weekly or yearly fairs because regular means of transportation are so little developed. The fairs indeed contribute largely to the Callahuaya's custom; at them among the ordinary types of mountebank he figures as "an unconfoundable type."³⁸

³⁶ For example: "Mamita Santa Ana, tejer, hilar, Madre de las hilanderas y de las tejedoras: Que sea con tus manos, Pachamama." (Éric Boman: *Antiquités de la Région Andine*, Vol. 2, p. 490.)

³⁷ Isaiah Bowman: *The Andes of Southern Peru*, New York, 1916, Chs. 6, 7.

³⁸ Ciro Bayo: *El Peregrino en Indias*, 1911, p. 32.